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Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the "20 Articles"

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宮效閩)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 14, 1976)

Fraud always has to be practiced by the capitalist-roaders in power within the Party when they push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and the so-called "everything for modernization" is just a fraud used by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The handful of desperadoes who engineered the Tienanmen Square counter-revolutionary incident frantically called on Teng Hsiao-p'ing to "preside over work" and to bring about the "day of four modernizations" as if the Chinese people would have pork mixed with hair without this "butcher" Teng.

Is Teng Hsiao-p'ing really more anxious than anyone else in achieving four modernizations? Certainly not! "Certain Questions of Accelerating the Development of Industry"* ("20 Articles"), cooked up on his personal instruction, has entirely exposed the ferocious features of this commander in whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

"20 Articles" took half a year to complete, undergoing six major modifications and 32 minor modifications in the process. Four of its drafts were most representative in character:

The draft of August 17, consisting of 14 articles;
The draft of August 22, 20 articles;
The draft of September 2, 18 articles; and
The draft of October 25, 20 articles.

Now, let us analyze the evolutionary process of these four drafts and see how Teng Hsiao-p'ing organized his offensive against the proletariat with a program and in a planned and premeditated manner.

I

On March 5, 1975, Teng Hsiao-p'ing said at a conference:

"Now we have the whole situation and all of us in the Party must spend more time talking about it. What is this situation? As was already discussed in reports to the 3rd National People's Congress and the 4th National People's Congress, our national construction is to be undertaken in two steps, the first step reaching up to 1980 and the second to the end of the present century, 25 years hence."

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* Please see SPRCM NO. 873.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing made these remarks merely a month or more after the conclusion of the 4th National People's Congress and ten days after the publication in the press of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory. Yet he could not wait to propose that "construction" alone was the "whole situation" of the "entire Party." Certainly, he did not do so by the slip of the tongue, for his real intent was to present the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship as a "small situation" of little consequence. This was precursory to the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and was corroborated by the other views he expressed in the same speech.

In the speech, he said: "Why do we talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not the dictatorship of other classes?" "This is because the proletariat is the most disciplined and the most organized and is tied to modern large-scale production." The dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie was misrepresented merely as aimed at organizing "modern large-scale production," and what difference is there between it and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

In this speech, he said: "To restrict bourgeois rights, we also must have a material foundation, for without it, how can we do so?" Where this notorious "maxim" is directed at can be seen clearly if we examine the background of its appearance.

It was also in this speech that he described the excellent situation since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution as "a mess," and he even refused to shake hands with other participants in the conference because "the industrial condition is bad." Why was there "a mess"? Ignoring the new Party Constitution adopted at the 10th Party Congress and the new State Constitution adopted at the 4th National People's Congress, he attributed it to the current "lack of regulations and discipline." This fully borne out his opposition to the Party program and line and his ambition to rig up a set of counter-revolutionary revisionist regulations.

"Blows the spring wind, and ripples are formed in a pool of water." Bearing in mind the "whole situation" of restoring capitalism, Teng Hsiao-p'ing intensified his effort to stir up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Not long afterward, he publicly hoisted the black banner of "taking the three directives as the key link," and then in June he declared that "it won't do" to solve problems one by one and "it is necessary to give all-round consideration when studying a long-range plan."

So, in response rose "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry," which was a set of revisionist regulations.

When the first draft of "20 Articles" was delivered to Teng Hsiao-p'ing on August 17, he highly praised it, and then the next day, August 18, he hurriedly convened a discussion meeting in which he lauded it as "a very important document," "even more important than a ten-year plan."

Why was it "important"? Because it embodied Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "whole situation" and "all-round consideration" in restoring capitalism and because it synthesized a series of revisionist views and opinions which he expressed over several months since he went back to work. His "taking the three directives as the key link" was written into the "General Work Program." He attacked the excellent situation since the start of the great cultural revolution, and the document also exaggerated this one-sidedly and listed a large number of so-called "dark aspects" such as "lax discipline," "confusion in management," "poor quality and many accidents." Teng Hsiao-p'ing madly brandished the big stick of "rectification," and the document also called for "rectification" here, there and everywhere, clamoring that "to criticize 'control, check and repression' in an over-generalized manner is bound to cause a state of anarchy." How could Teng Hsiao-p'ing not feel pleased and applaud the document since it so faithfully recorded and amplified his reactionary ideas?

At the August 18 discussion meeting, Teng Hsiao-p'ing used the phrase "a long-standing habit is difficult to correct" to vilify even more maliciously the excellent situation since the beginning of the cultural revolution. Since the problems were made to appear more and more serious, the document naturally viewed them in a similar light. After expressing a lot of views, he proposed to include them in the document.

So, there was the second draft of August 22, and the third draft of September 2.

II

What were the problems which the third draft dealt with, problems that Teng Hsiao-p'ing believed "had not been brought up before"?

First, the article "Party leadership" was added. It was an awe-some heading, but if one looked at its content, it didn't seem right. Right from the start the article suggested that as to whether or not it was possible to seriously implement the policy of taking the three directives as the key link, "the crucial question is Party leadership." This was indeed the "crucial question" for us to understand the object of this article. Grasp this "crucial question," and we will understand why it was necessary to "dare to lead and dare to take responsibility," why it was necessary to oppose "soft, lazy and loose," why "rules of thumb were followed and nothing good was done," and why "rectifications" were needed....

"After the rectification, those 'soft, lazy and loose' leading groups should be changed, those leading groups with unreformed petty intellectuals and 'brave elements' in power readjusted, and power usurped by bad people seized back."

What "unreformed petty intellectuals and 'brave elements'"? It is said that these people, "gesticulating with their hands, know only how to rectify others and sing high tunes without doing anything practical. At random they put on others the hats of 'restoration of the old,' 're-gression,' 'conservative forces,' 'pulling carts without looking at the

road.'" Well, "restoration of the old" and "regression" become sacred and inviolable things, and whoever touches them will be given "hats" such as "rectifying others." But these words are not strange to us. In the past Hu Feng attacked the proletarian dictatorship for "rectifying others," and the bourgeois Rightists also denounced the Communist Party for "singing high tunes." Does the fact that you people also said these things not show that you are birds of a feather?

What "bad people"? It is said that these people are "anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists," doing nothing but "attack and frame up good revolutionary cadres and workers, promote a bourgeois dictatorship and practice restoration and regression." Here "revolutionary cadres and workers" are "veteran workers and experienced cadres" who, as Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged, are "hurt" every time a movement is started. Since you describe as "revolutionaries" renegades, secret agents and capitalists-roaders who were overthrown by the past successive movements, naturally you must describe the proletarian revolutionaries as "Rightists." Don't you want to "seize back power"? Doesn't this reveal your motive in launching a vengeful counter-attack against the great cultural revolution?

Yet all this is not enough. Finally you wrote "someone is behind them." Who is that someone? Why don't you say so openly?

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is good at coining new terms. Here "brave elements," "petty intellectuals," "Rightists" and their "backstage boss" are termed "anti-Marxist class enemies" in that sinister essay "The General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation." Even more viciously, they are described as "a handful of careerists" by the hooligans who engineered the counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square. Though the terms used are different, the implications are the same, for they are all directed at the proletarian revolutionaries who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. When the map is unfolded, the dagger is exposed. When we unfold that sinister map with the heading "four modernizations," we will see the knife which "butcher" Teng attempts to use to cut off the heads of the revolutionary people!

Teng Hsiao-p'ing once said: "The central question of rectification is to rectify our leading groups." A section of the document deals with this "central question" which has existed in his mind all the time. This means all-round restoration of capitalism by usurping the leadership power of the proletariat. As Chairman Mao has stated, "Those bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists, and once the time is ripe, they will seize political power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship." Therefore, we must attach the utmost importance to the question of leadership power and be alert against the attempt of capitalist-roaders within the Party to usurp the leadership power of the proletariat in one form or another.

Second, the article "from each according to his best, to each according to his work" was added. Why give prominence to this article? At the August 18 meeting, Teng Hsiao-p'ing said: "Some problems haven't been raised, such as distribution according to work. Is it because the

time hasn't come?" "I don't feel at ease unless distribution according to work is raised." Moreover, he said that on this question "everybody is racking his brain," and "the document should be polished a bit."

Strange indeed. "From each according to his best, to each according to his work" is a principle of distribution practiced in socialist society. How can there be the question -- "is it because the time hasn't come" -- in deciding whether to include this issue in the document? The truth is that after he called for "a material foundation for restricting bourgeois rights" in March, he then said in Shanghai in June: "Why do we describe everything as bourgeois right? Isn't it right to receive more for more work done? Should this also be called a bourgeois right?" On August 18, he said: "As regards material incentives, there wasn't much in the past. Even now piece-work (wage) is still practiced in some places. But they dare not say so, because it is illegal to do so." It is clear that by "raising" the question of distribution according to work, he wanted to stage a rival drama in opposition to Chairman Mao's instructions and reverse the verdict on the restriction and criticism of bourgeois rights.

On Teng Hsiao-p'ing's order, the draft was revised and it stated emphatically:

"In the socialist period, it (distribution according to work) basically conforms to the requirements of the developing productive forces and must be resolutely enforced."

The special feature of this article is that it embraces "all sides": "This side," "that side," "not only opposing material incentives," "but also opposing egalitarianism," etc., etc. But once the crucial issue is involved, it does not embrace "all sides." Here it is permissible only to talk about "basic conformity," "this side." As regards the Marxist thesis that distribution according to work is a birthmark of the old society and the idea that bourgeois rights manifested in distribution according to work must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, sorry, they do not deserve to be written into the article. Don't you want to restrict and criticize bourgeois rights? The document would accuse you of "departing from the material and spiritual conditions at the present stage," and put on your head the big hat of "practicing egalitarianism." What a champion of bourgeois rights!

Bourgeois rights are the lifeblood of capitalist-roaders. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is of course particularly resentful of the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights. Of course, he does not "feel at ease" and "racks his brain" even in his dreams. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing does not appear even to understand that getting more for more work done is a bourgeois right, and therefore his fallacies can hardly be convincing when they are put in words. So they need to be "polished" a bit. The result of "polishing" is the revision in the draft of that article which is equivocable and typically eclectical. However, it is not difficult to see that the article, under the pretext of opposing so-called "egalitarianism," one-sidedly emphasizes distribution according to "the size of contribution," and this precisely shows that "distribution according to work" is only a hoax and the real

intent is to carry out distribution according to power and the size of capital. Teng thought that by so doing he could strengthen and expand bourgeois rights and promote restoration and regression without worry whatsoever. But what a wrong calculation he made!

Third, the article "increasing the export of industrial and mineral products" was added. This proposal was also made by Teng Hsiao-p'ing at the August 18 discussion meeting. He said: "We must use more things to exchange for the best and the latest equipment of foreign countries," adding this policy "is most reliable" and "a major policy" at that.

Here what is raised is not the question of how much should be exported and imported in China's foreign trade, but a question of what should be "relied" on in bringing about four modernizations. According to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's logic, only "importing foreign advanced technology" is "most reliable," only "exchanging for the best and the latest equipment of foreign countries" is "most reliable." Does this mean that maintaining independence and achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance and calling into play the creative power of the masses of people are all "unreliable"? "Relying" on such a "major policy" not only will make it impossible to bring about four modernizations but also will cause China to be reduced into an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. Lenin once said that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie "still has an international foundation, namely, international capital of which they are a branch." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") In their attempt to restore capitalism in China, capitalist-roaders are bound to collude with imperialism, revisionism and reaction in the international arena. And this "major policy" at once belied Teng Hsiao-p'ing's claim that he "cherishes the state and the people." They want to overthrow not only the verdicts of the great cultural revolution but also all the achievements from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, causing China to sink again into the semi-colonial and semi-feudal chasm. Can all revolutionary people permit them to do so?

Under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's direct command, that revisionist line was made more concrete and complete in one draft after another, and the attack on the great cultural revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line became more frantic and blatant.

III

In October 1975, the repeatedly revised draft of "20 Articles" was delivered to that "theoretician" whom Teng Hsiao-p'ing depended on as an "adviser." With affected seriousness he said that the trouble with these several drafts was: "Chairman Mao's thinking on developing industry was not sufficiently reflected," and "both in terms of formal logic and dialectics it was incomprehensible."

How, then, should Chairman Mao's thinking on developing industry be "reflected"? The "theoretician" tossed out a draft on October 25. Totalling 30,000 characters, it more than doubled the past drafts in length.

In the first article under the heading "Carry Out Chairman Mao's Line on Developing Industry in an All-Round Manner," a total of 66 quotations from Chairman Mao relating to industrial problems were selected and used. Compared with the ten articles in that "Outline of the Summary Report on the Work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences"* prepared by that "theoretician" in September, both the headings and the phraseology are entirely the same as if to suggest that, as they themselves had said, they had used "those words in writing documents after the great cultural revolution."

But if we analyze them slightly, it will not be difficult to see their despicable motives:

Among so many quotations used, they deliberately refrained from selecting the quotation from Chairman Mao concerning the Party's basic line and taking class struggle as the key link. Again and again they spoke of "all-round implementation," but did they feel that they would lose "all-round" if they wrote these instructions into the document?

They also refrained from citing a series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao concerning a wealth of fresh experience that emerged in the course of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and enterprises and that were summed up during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Again and again you spoke of writing "the language of the great cultural revolution," but why were you afraid of writing these important instructions into your document?

At the First Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee Chairman Mao issued an important instruction, saying: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations,I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories -- I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them -- leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-ch'i -- simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there were indeed bad people in the factories." "This showed that the revolution remained unfinished." This important idea of Chairman Mao's was reiterated at the 4th National People's Congress held not long ago. Why have you forgotten that?

The reason is very simple. It is that this instruction of Chairman Mao's hits the capitalist-roaders resorting to restoration and regression where it hurts most. How can they select and apply this instruction when they try

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* Please see SPRCM No. 870.

so frantically to usurp the leadership of enterprises and so keen on carrying out the revisionist line on putting profit in command, promoting material incentives, etc.? Were they to do so, wouldn't they court self-destruction? While using quotations from Chairman Mao, they at the same time did their best to twist them so they could more frenziedly oppose Mao Tsetung thought. This has been a habitual trick played by capitalist-roaders within the Party who "hoist the red flag to oppose the red flag," and a full demonstration has again been given in the newly compiled "20 Articles"!

Didn't that "theoretician" want to talk about "dialectics" too? Lenin said rightly: "Substituting eclecticism for dialectics is the most frequently seen and the most universal phenomenon in dealing with Marxism in the journals of the formal social-democratic parties at present." ("The State and Revolution") The "dialectics" of that "theoretician" is nothing less than eclecticism and sophistry that was habitually used by the old and new opportunists.

In the new text, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" suddenly disappears. In the first several drafts, this program was called "General Program for All Work of the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the Whole Nation" and assumed such importance. Did it become not so important or even vanish out of sight after the draft was revised by the "theoretician"? It must not be thought that the unrepentant capitalist-roader has really begun to repent and ceased to promote revisionism. "Taking the three directives as the key link" vanished from the front door, but re-entered through the back door. After "General Work Program" was deleted and a lot of nonsense about "penetratingly conduct education in the Party's basic line" was said, in the last article "The Whole Party Should Get Mobilized To Fight for Accelerating the Speed of Industrial Development," it was nevertheless stated that "the three directives" were "so closely inter-related that they were inseparable from one another and must be enforced in an all-round manner," a repetition of an old tune. Wasn't this a deceptive trick of "keeping the principles and smoothing out the edges"? As regards "penetratingly conduct education in the Party's basic line," this was also merely a shield used to oppose Marxism and peddle revisionism. In the revised draft this was put forward as an integral article and of course it sounded very serious. However, in carrying out education in the Party's basic line, it is necessary to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie. Where is the bourgeoisie? The document said:

"Leadership in a small number of enterprises is usurped by bad people. They practice restoration under the 'anti-restoration' banner and exercise a bourgeois dictatorship over the vast numbers of cadres and masses."

Please look, aren't these words entirely the same as those in the first two drafts? Here, the Marxist principle that the main danger is revisionism and the proposition that the main target of the struggle is Party persons in power taking the capitalist road are subtly evaded. They use such more insidious language as "practice restoration under the 'anti-

restoration' banner" in an attempt to finish off at one stroke the revolutionary cadres and masses who rise up to expose and criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's scheme of restoring capitalism. The only difference is that here they add the fraud "carrying out education in the Party's basic line."

All these changes are explained by the fact that with the deepening study by the people of the whole country of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and the criticism of Water Margin, Teng Hsiao-p'ing sensed that "the situation is unfavorable" and felt the urgent need to attach a false label to his revisionist goods. However, what is false is false, and how many can such a trick deceive?

IV

According to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's pre-determined plan, "20 Articles," modified and embellished by the "theoretician," was originally to be formally tabled at a national meeting to be held toward the end of October. However, with the impending collapse of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, this document could no longer be modified after it reached the sixth draft. Finally it became a record of failure and aborted.

What is worth mentioning with emphasis is that "20 Articles" is not something new. If we contrast it with that "70 Articles for Industry" formulated under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's direction before the great proletarian cultural revolution, one finds a great deal of similarity. People may still remember that 15 years ago the broad masses of workers and cadres urgently required a set of industrial regulations based on a summing up of the experience of the three years of great leap forward and guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, principles and policies. However, as an accomplice of Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing the revisionist line on running enterprises, Teng Hsiao-p'ing took the opportunity accorded by his taking charge of this project and put into these regulations a revisionist line on running enterprises which was diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. As a result, when these regulations were put to test, they were naturally boycotted by the cadres and workers in many enterprises, and they were naturally criticized by the broad masses of workers and cadres in the course of the great cultural revolution. In 1968, under the blow of the tempest of the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing could not but admit: "This document did not stress putting politics, namely, Mao Tsetung thought, in command. It contained many serious errors. I must take the main responsibility." In August 1972, Teng Hsiao-p'ing in another self-examination said: "When I presided over the formulation of the 70 Articles for industry, I did not put politics in command, nor did I take Chairman Mao's Charter for the Anshan Iron and Steel Company as the guide. The result was a pack of errors." However, these words could not be trusted. Once he went back to work, he denied what he had said. In August and September last year, he referred to the "70 Articles" on several occasions. Once he said: "In industry there has been a set of regulations (meaning the '70 Articles'). They may be revised, but not abolished." On another occasion he said: "The 70 Articles for industry are still good. Some of them may still apply and they have not been abolished by the central authorities." However, it is after all not so

easy to apply again things that have been criticized before, and so a new form has to be found, and that is the "20 Articles" known as "accelerating the development of industry."

"20 Articles" is nothing less than a reprint under the new situation of "70 Articles" 15 years ago. Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself admitted voluntarily: This document "basically replaces the former 70 Articles for industry." This is a hundred percent correct. "70 Articles" reversed the verdicts on the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and "20 Articles" reverses the verdicts on the great proletarian cultural revolution. The spearhead of both documents is directed at the great leader Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line. If only we seriously analyze "70 Articles" and "20 Articles" formulated under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's direction, we shall fully recognize that this unrepentant capitalist-roader is not, as he has boasted of himself, an expert interested in four modernizations, but an old hand in Right deviationist reversal of verdicts and practice of revisionism.

These six drafts consumed half a year's time altogether. This set of revisionist regulations, like sediments which floated to the surface for a time, quickly sank into a depth where nobody will care to see. From "70 Articles" to "20 Articles," a lesson by negative example has been learned: throughout the historical phase of socialism, "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road," and this will be a long-term historical phenomenon. In this sense, "20 Articles" cooked up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is indeed precious teaching material by negative example.

* * *

Capitalist Roaders Are the Representatives of the Capitalist Relations of Production

by

Chuang Lan (庄 岚)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 14, 1976)

Class analysis is an important weapon for revolution. In his brilliant work, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," Chairman Mao points out: "To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution." This directive of Chairman Mao's is of equally important guiding significance to our analysis of the class essence of Party capitalist roaders today and our understanding that Party capitalist roaders are the main target of the socialist revolution.

An economic status means a position in the relations of production in a given society. As Lenin pointed out, socialist society cannot but possess the features or characteristics of two kinds of socio-economic structure, and this is "the period of struggle between decaying capitalism and nascent communism." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") Capitalist roaders within the Party vainly attempt to restore capitalism by making the utmost effort to uphold the superstructure and relations of production which hinder the socialist economic base and the development of productive forces. In socialist society they are the representatives of the capitalist relations of production which have been vanquished but have not yet been eliminated.

Let us first take a look at the condition of ownership of the means of production. Our country at present practices basically the socialist system of state ownership and the socialist system of collective ownership. Under these two systems of ownership, the laboring people possess and allocate the means of production they collectively own through the state of proletarian dictatorship or collective economic units, and the power to allocate and manage the means of production and the power to distribute products are expressed in a concentrated way as the power of political leadership. Due to the existence of these two systems of ownership and the practice of the commodity system and exchange by means of money, the law of value and other economic categories which hold the dominating position in capitalist production are still operative, though they have been restricted. Not only between units of ownership by the whole people and units of collective ownership but also between various units of ownership by the whole people, independent economic accounting must be practiced under the socialist planned economy. Hence, whether people who control the power of leadership can genuinely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, whether they can exploit certain positive effects at the present stage of such things as the law of value under the socialist planned economy or willfully

extend the principle of exchange of commodities and diminish or undermine the socialist planned economy, has a direct bearing on the class nature of the system of ownership. Chairman Mao points out: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories -- I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them -- leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-ch'i -- simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." Here material incentives and putting profit in command are a manifestation of the vicious inflation of the principle of exchange of commodities. If leadership over a department or unit is controlled by capitalist roaders who energetically push the revisionist line, socialist production will turn into a movement to multiply the value of capital with the pursuit of maximum profits as the only goal, a capitalist wage labor system. While the socialist system of ownership is reduced to an "outer shell," it will actually become a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders, and the proletariat and the laboring people will in fact lose this part of the means of production.

Judging from the mutual relations between people, the socialist system, which is not based on exploitation and oppression of man by man, is one under which the relations between cadres and masses and between the higher and lower levels within revolutionary ranks should be comradely relations of equality. But after all, the three major differences still exist and the old practice of division of labor in society and the gradation system exist, and in these respects bourgeois rights still exist to a serious extent. Even those bourgeois rights in the mutual relations between people which must be eliminated today, such as rigid gradation, lording it over and being divorced from the masses, unequal treatment of others, and so forth, often re-emerge after they have been broken. If the leadership of certain departments is usurped by capitalist roaders, they will strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the relations between people, subject workers to "control, check, and repression," turn the socialist relations between people into capitalist mercenary relations, and enforce the bourgeois dictatorship. This situation is particularly obvious in the Soviet Union of today. In Soviet state-owned enterprises, the working class has become human material to exact surplus value. Managers can use any "reason" to lay off workers, who have only the "obligation" to "abide by labor discipline and internal rules," to work submissively. On Soviet collective farms, the directors lord it over the peasants and "do whatever they wish." As they themselves have admitted, they are "playing the role of a whip" toward the peasants. Look, the relations between a handful of capitalist roaders within the Soviet Party and the broad masses of workers and peasants have become relations

between the employer and the employed, the ruler and the ruled. When exposing the relations between workers and capitalists in capitalist society, Marx and Engels pointed out: the workers "are not only the slaves of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, but are also enslaved every day and every hour by machines and the foremen, in the first place by the factory owners themselves." ("Communist Manifesto") Today, the revisionist lines pushed by the arch Party capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are,in the final analysis, aimed at re-tying the proletariat to the chains of capital and making them slaves of the bourgeois state.

Another feature of the bourgeoisie within the Party is its vigorous effort to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in the field of distribution and possess the labor of others without compensation. Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the 8-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." In the period of socialism, there is no alternative to practicing the principle "from each according to his best, to each according to his work." This means distribution according to the different amounts of labor each laborer provides to society. But as Marx pointed out, "Here the right of equality is in principle still a bourgeois right." ("Critique of the Gotha Program") In fact, many phenomena of inequality still exist in the field of distribution. Whether such inequalities should be gradually restricted and ultimately eliminated under the dictatorship of the proletariat or strengthened and extended at will is an important mark of distinction between Marxism and revisionism. Touching on the birth of classes, Engels pointed out: "With the appearance of disparities in distribution, class differences also appear. Society is divided into the privileged and the under-privileged, the exploiter and the exploited, the ruler and the ruled." ("Anti-Dühring") To extend bourgeois rights in distribution actually smacks of allowing a section of people to possess the labor of another section of people without compensation, which means extending class differences. Today in the Soviet Union, hasn't a handful of the bourgeois privileged stratum and spiritual aristocracy headed by Brezhnev formed and developed into an exploiting class in the course of restoring capitalism? By exploiting the position and authority they have usurped, through such means as raising wages, bonuses and payments for manuscripts, and by way of all sorts of privileges, corruption, theft and profiteering, they expropriate the fruits of labor of the workers and peasants in a big way. On the other hand, the masses of workers and peasants are entirely placed in the position of the enslaved and the exploited and are increasingly stricken with poverty. The historical lesson of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union fully shows how important it is for a socialist state, while consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and public ownership of the means of production, to strive to restrict bourgeois rights in the field of distribution in order to prevent the Party and state from changing color. That was why Marx, in summing up the experience of the Paris Commune,especially praised the measures taken by the heroes

of the Commune: "All public functionaries from the top down, beginning with members of the Commune Committee, should draw a salary equivalent to the wages of the worker. All privileges enjoyed by senior state officials and their office expenses should disappear with the disappearance of these officials." ("The Civil War in France") The reason why renegades from Marxism like Teng Hsiao-p'ing resent and fear the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights is that bourgeois rights are the very lifeblood of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and that to restrict bourgeois rights is to make revolution against them.

Through a class analysis, we can see clearly that Party capitalist roaders in power like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, by the position they occupy in the relations of production in society today, fully represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. As individuals, they may not necessarily own capital, run factories and operate banks like the former capitalists, but their political line which energetically upholds the capitalist relations of production reflects in a concentrated way the economic interests and political aspirations of the bourgeoisie as a whole. If the capitalist "is only the personalization of capital, then his soul is the soul of capital." (Capital) In that case, the soul of these members of the bourgeoisie within the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the soul of the old bourgeoisie which is dreaming of a comeback though it has been overthrown and of the new bourgeoisie which is being engendered and vainly attempts to seize control. Once they usurp the Party and state power, they will completely overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, change the nature of the socialist system of public ownership and openly restore the capitalist system. By then, capitalist roaders, big and small, will re-divide among themselves and in proportion to their capital and power, all the wealth created by the laboring people. Lin Piao cooked up the "Outline of Project '571'" and staged a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat; Teng Hsiao-p'ing made every effort to promote restoration and reverse verdicts and engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. This exposed in a big way the reactionary essence of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period, apart from being attributed to various causes such as the existence of bourgeois rights and encirclement by imperialism and social-imperialism, is not fortuitous, judging by the social position capitalist roaders occupy. After describing "how people who were public servants of society at first gradually turned into its masters while the going was smooth" in the latter stages of the primitive society, Engels pointed out that one of the underlying factors was that: the work of safeguarding public interests, "though it was under the supervision by all society, could not but be carried out by individual members." ("Anti-DÜhring") Because these "individual members" took advantage of the opportunity accorded by their management of public property and exploited their power to distribute articles of consumption and

products to make private gains and own more surplus products than others, sprouts of private ownership appeared on the land under the clan system of public ownership and, as a result, those who were originally "servants" of society became rulers enjoying all sorts of privileges. Although the birth of capitalist roaders is much more complicated, there are also similarities. When later Engels summed up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, he again stated that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was necessary to "prevent the state and state organs from turning from servants of society into its masters" and "pursuing their own special interests." ("Engels' Introduction to the 1891 edition of 'The Civil War in France'") Chairman Mao also pointed out recently: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." These remarks made by the mentors of revolution not only hit the Party capitalist roaders where it hurts most, but also elucidate an important cause behind the appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the socialist period.

The appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the period of socialism is not strange at all. Everything is divided into two. The political party of the proletariat is no exception. So long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle remain, such struggles will inevitably be reflected in the Party. "The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road" -- this will be a long-term historical phenomenon. Marxism is different from revisionism in that the latter is afraid of mentioning the existence of class struggle in socialist society, and particularly the appearance of the bourgeoisie within the Party. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like tried to deceive themselves and others with such fallacies as "the party of the whole people" and "the state of the whole people." And Teng Hsiao-p'ing is as afraid of hearing the term "capitalist roaders" as Ah Q is of hearing others talk about the scab on his head. This is because if they admit this fact, it is tantamount to admitting that they themselves are the bourgeoisie inside the Party and it means their destruction. This to them is both painful and unthinkable. The proletarian revolutionary party and Marxists not only dare to admit that the bourgeoisie may exist within the Party but also dare to wage the great cultural revolution and arouse the masses in airing views, putting up big-character posters and holding mass debates in a resolute struggle against capitalist roaders. For it is only in this way that we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration and finally send the bourgeoisie to its grave and realize communism. The socialist revolution is a great revolution aimed at burying the last exploiting class ever since mankind came to existence. "Living in such an era, we

must be prepared to wage a great struggle which has many features different in form from those of the past." This then requires us to apply the method of class analysis to fully understand the features of class struggle and the changes in class relations so as to make clear this important problem -- the bourgeoisie being in the Party, persist in the exercise of overall proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and thus carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

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Study Theory, Criticize Teng in Depth

- Comment

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 14, 1976)

How can the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts be developed in greater depth? The key lies in seriously studying Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory and hitting back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, in seriously studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is a reaction against the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. He started blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts by opposing and attacking the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. He attempted to set aside taking class struggle as the key link by taking "the three directives as the key link." Documents and articles such as "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry," "Outline of the Summary Report on the Work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences" and "General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation," which were prepared under his direction, were essentially aimed at extending bourgeois rights and restoring capitalism. He tried as hard as he could to implement the principle of exchange of commodities in all spheres: advocating material incentives and putting profit in command in the economic field, advocating going to school in order to become an official and taking the white and expert road in the educational, scientific and technological fields, and advocating "one has put in hard work if one has not won merit, and even if one has not put in hard work, one has tired oneself out in work" in Party life, and so on and so forth. If things were done according to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's way, then before long the principle of exchange of commodities would dominate the entire society and the Party and state would change color completely.

We must be good at giving correct theoretical interpretations to many problems raised in the course of the struggle against Teng. Why is it that restricting or extending bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the focal point of the struggle between the Marxist and the revisionist line? Why is it that the appearance of capitalist roaders within the Party in the historical phase of socialism is a regular phenomenon? How are capitalist roaders engendered in the Party? What are the class and ideological root causes? How can we wipe out the soil breeding the bourgeoisie within the Party? How can we further criticize and restrict bourgeois rights? To make this series of questions clear, we must seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and combine the study of theory with the penetrating criticism of Teng.

The criticism of Teng may also be linked to the concrete practice of class struggle and the two-line struggle on all fronts across the country, the aim being to seriously and properly study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and in the course of work in various fields, to find out the difference between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's

revisionist line and what is meant by restricting or strengthening bourgeois rights so as to further adjust our ideological and political line, continue to carry out properly the revolution in the economic base and the superstructure, grasp revolution and promote production, work and preparedness against war, and keep pushing socialist revolution and construction forward.

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One Year of Ssuma Kuang's Assumption of Power

by

K'ang Li (康立)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 14, 1976)

"The fate of the empire was decided at midnight
in the imperial palace,
Which the air of benevolence and righteousness
pervaded.
Heaven and earth were set to rights,
And after restoration the Way is higher than ever."

This poem was written in praise of the "recovery of order of Yüan Yu" during the reign of Che Tsung of Sung by Huang T'ing-chien, a poet of the Chiangsi school who lived in the latter part of Northern Sung. Its meaning is this: The Sung imperial court changed the reforms introduced by Wang An-shih. Thereupon a strong current of "air of benevolence and righteousness" thoroughly "set to rights" the "Heaven and earth" disturbed by the reforms. After the "restoration," the big landlords and diehards returned to power and the way of Confucius and Mencius, which they upheld, was more authoritative and prestigious than ever.

The "recovery of order of Yüan Yu" was a shocking incident of restoration and all-out counter-attack and counter-reckoning against the reforms instituted by Wang An-shih. "When Prime Minister Ssuma was promoted to his post, he ordered the employment of more elders than the officials already in court." The leader of the restorationists was Ssuma Kuang. Under his administration, in only a little more than a year from the 5th month of the 8th year of Yüan Feng (1085 A.D.) to the 9th month of the 1st year of Yüan Yu (1086), the diehards gained ascendancy and large numbers of reformers were struck down. The new laws enforced by Wang An-shih were thoroughly abolished, and a grave situation of total restoration appeared. How did Ssuma Kuang direct the ugly drama of "recovery of order of Yüan Yu"?

Rushing To Post on Horseback

In the 5th month of the 8th year of Yüan Feng on the official way from Loyang to Kaifeng, a high official whose "teeth and hair were decaying and energy was waning and spent," escorted by his retinue, was traveling in haste in defiance of the fierce sun of early summer. He was the newly appointed Vice Premier Ssuma Kuang. "The horse gallops fast in the invigorating spring breeze of joy." In his innermost heart Ssuma Kuang was filled with great elation, but all the way his face was stern and unmoving, as if it had been carved in granite.

To show his dissatisfaction with the reforms, Ssuma Kuang quitted his official post in anger in the 3rd year of Hsi Ning (1070 A.D.) and went back to Loyang to "live in seclusion." "Shedding his purple robe and golden belt, he was then a rustic in the forest." Ssuma Kuang regarded himself as an inhabitant of T'aohuayuan /an Arcadian/.

Ssuma Kuang lived the life of a recluse in Loyang for 15 years. Outwardly he was engaged exclusively in studying Tzu Chih T'ung Chien, declaring that he was "not concerned about the affairs of the court." Had he really no interest in politics? Was it true that all he wanted was to be a minor "official at large"? No. This leader of die-hards who firmly maintained that "the laws of our ancestors must not be changed" had not forgotten for a minute to attack the new laws. Day and night he dreamed of regaining power so he might "change them." Wang An-shih said straightforwardly and to the point: "Ssuma Kuang is the only man who always says that the new laws are bad," showing that Ssuma Kuang was the person who was against the new laws to the end.

To show his determination to restore the old order of things, Ssuma Kuang specially had a classical ritual dress made for him according to specifications contained in the Book of Rites and put it on. In his Garden of Lonely Joy in Ch'ung Hsien Lane, Loyang, he had an underground chamber more than one chang deep built, which he called "Earth Chamber." Here he fanned evil wind and kindled evil fire and engaged in underground activities. People said, "Ssuma Kuang has gone underground." He also had a pillow made of hard wood which he called "warning pillow." At the slightest movement he made, the pillow would roll and he would be wide awake. He thought of the reforms and the precarious position of the diehards. "In the middle of the night, whenever I think of this, I would cry involuntarily and beat my heart." For many years Ssuma Kuang "longed day and night" to be able to overthrow the new laws one day. A poem of his proves this:

"I like Tung Chung-shu
Who studied well the classics but preferred a
secluded life,
Who for three years
Had no eyes beyond his garden abode.
Nor had he ears for heresies,
But sated his hunger with words of the Sage.
With his essays he entered the Han court
And set aside the hundred schools."

See, this "rustic," living in secluded retirement, really had his mind on the imperial court. His "overbearing anger" at the reforms compelled him to struggle stubbornly for reinstatement in the imperial court in order to "set aside" the new laws, as Tung Chung-shu had done by "setting aside the hundred schools and exalting only Confucianism." Now that he was made Vice Premier, his aspirations, frustrated for many years, soared suddenly. The "rustic" was fiercely aflame with ambition.

What drove Ssuma Kuang again to the front stage was not only his fierce ambition to do away with the reforms, but more important still, the whole body of big landlords and diehards who stood behind him. Ssuma Kuang chose to "live in seclusion" in Loyang because here, where "the neighbors were marquises and counts, behind whose richly painted doors were fragrant growths," was the stronghold of the noble and prominent families of Northern Sung. The reforms sapped the power of the big landlords, so that "junipers and cypresses then were no better than common flowers by the wayside." How embittered they were! Here congregated the "noblest and richest of men," Wen Yen-po; Fu Pi, who dared to speak out what others "dared not mention;" Han Wei and Lü Kung-chu, of the two most famous "great families" of Han and Lu of Northern Sung; Ch'eng Hao,Ch'eng I and Shao Yung, moralists; and high officials like Lü Hui Fan Chen and Fan Ch'un-jen who lost their positions because they opposed the reforms. This was the headquarters of the die-hards, the base of operations of bureaucrats and big landlords from which they conducted anti-reform activities.

This group of die-hards was the strength on which Ssuma Kuang relied, and in turn Ssuma Kuang was their most fervent defender. He held that a man's lot, "be he high or low, rich or poor," was predordained by Heaven, and those who "arrogate to themselves the functions of Heaven will meet with disaster from Heaven." He cried nakedly: "If Heaven ordains you to poverty but you defiantly want to get rich, and if Heaven ordains you to stupidity but you defiantly want to be clever, you will surely be punished by Heaven!" Ssuma Kuang's lot was closely bound with the position and interests of the diehards. He was an unsheathed sword in their hands. All those who "criticize the new laws look up to him for support." Around Ssuma Kuang they formed various diehard groups such as "Society of Truth and Straightforwardness" and "Society of Venerable Old Men," in which they wrote poetry and enjoyed themselves, but never forgetting their target of attack, the new laws. So the whole body of big landlords and die-hards regarded Ssuma Kuang as their general representative, doing everything possible for him and helping him in every respect. Lü Hui encouraged him, saying, "The Empire can still be saved. You must do your part." Su Shih sent him a poem from afar, saying, "What are you doing, sir? People all over the world look up to you for enlightenment." Wen Yen-po told him an intriguing tale: A play was being staged in the palace of Liao, in which an actor who played the role of a reformist took everything he saw, while another hit him hard with a big stick and that man was Ssuma Kuang. The meaning was that even the nobles of Liao in the far North hoped Ssuma Kuang would wield a big stick and strike down the reformers. Highly flattered, Ssuma Kuang hastily and "humbly expressed his thanks." In short, all the anti-reform forces inside and outside the Sung imperial court eagerly expected Ssuma Kuang to play his role once more. They regarded him as their "true Premier" and pushed him onto the stage.

Bearing in him the trust of the whole bloc of big landlords and diehards, Ssuma Kuang went to assume office on horseback. He resolved to exert his utmost in disregard of his old age and completely restore the "laws of the ancestors" of the diehards.

Total Reversal of Verdict

Indeed Ssuma Kuang did not fail the expectations of the big landlords and diehards. As soon as he assumed office he energetically pushed a line of abolition of the new laws and total restoration.

First of all he seized upon public opinion. Even before his formal assumption of office, he already sent several memorials to the throne in which he said alarmingly that the intelligentsia and men of rank now dared not speak the truth and suggested that "a way be opened widely for expressions of public opinion," so that all might "speak freely" about the "faults and shortcomings of the administration" and the "sufferings of the people" caused by the new laws, and that those who were dissatisfied with the new laws and who would like to reckon accounts with them might give vent to their "long suppressed discontent." This was an order to attack the reforms. As soon as the order came, letters attacking the new laws, numbering several thousand, came in a deluge, doing the utmost in rumor-mongering and making false accusations.

The fact that only this small number of anti-reform letters in a big nation showed that not many people really persisted in the diehard stand. Moreover, after a recheck, it was found that many of the letters favored the new laws. Seizing upon this opportunity, however, Ssuma Kuang wielded the big stick of total reversal of verdict. In the 4th month of the 8th year of Yüan Feng, he petitioned the emperor for rescission of "the new laws that harm the people and the state." His first proposal upon assumption of office as Vice Premier was "to change the new laws." At that time some of the new laws had already been abolished, but he severely cursed Wang An-shih, saying that he /Wang/ "knows nothing about government system, is opinionated, and changes and upsets old rules." Once again he yelled in frenzy: "Never be afraid to do away with all the rest of the new laws!" Ssuma Kuang had really steeled his mind to the extent of recklessness. In his eyes only the "laws of the ancestors" of the diehards were "unchangeable for a hundred generations." As for the new laws, they must be overthrown at once. As in "saving people from fire or drowning," could one "just sit there and do nothing?"

"Heaven and earth were set to rights." This was the principal means by which Ssuma Kuang pushed his reactionary line. While Wang An-shih was still instituting reforms, neo-Confucians Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I already clamored: "Today it is necessary first to set things to rights." Now the diehards formally flew the black banner of "to rectify custom and u,nold principles." Ssuma Kuang cried hoarsely that the most urgent need was to "order and reform" the new laws thoroughly. "Order and reform" here also meant "set to rights." "All measures must be taken according to old rules.' Everything must be put back to its old place.

Wielding a Big Stick To Attack Reformers

When Ssuma Kuang assumed office, though the line was changed, the strength of the reformers was still very great. About 70 or 80 percent of the officials of the Sung imperial court supported the new laws, while the diehards were in the minority. Ssuma Kuang himself admitted that those who opposed him were more numerous than those who supported him. He was "like a yellow leaf hanging in a fierce wind, which could fall any moment." He knew he had no popular support and was quite alone.

At that time Prime Minister Ts'ai Ch'üeh and head of Shu-mi Yuan (Privy Council) Chang Tun still firmly maintained the new laws. They openly indicated that they "would not cooperate" with Ssuma Kuang as Vice Premier. They dared to argue with him face to face, so that many retrogressive measures were "broken and stopped." They ruthlessly exposed the diehards promoted in office by Ssuma Kuang as "incompetent fellows." On one occasion Ssuma Kuang secretly recommended a number of advisers for appointment, and among them were his relatives and adherents Fan Ch'un-jen and Fan Tsu-yü. Chang Tun justly and sternly pointed out: "A high minister should act openly. Why did you make secret recommendations?" He also said that according to regulations, such officials should be nominated jointly by the high ministers but that Ssuma Kuang was opening the back-door which "must not be opened any time." He demanded that the officials so appointed should be dismissed forthwith or transferred elsewhere. Pressed by his colleagues, Ssuma Kuang threatened to quit, crying, "I would rather give up my position." Under the circumstances, he had many difficulties in restoring the old system as he wished. The new laws could not be overthrown all at once, and the "laws of ancestors" could not be restored.

Exasperated and tormented like an ant in a heated pan, Ssuma Kuang determined to get rid of all the reformists and clear the way for his reactionary line.

Under the direction of Ssuma Kuang, "critical memorials to the throne" attacking the reformists came out in a stream. These either reproved or spoke disparagingly of the reformists, the purpose being to put them out of existence. Even a drought was attributed to the reformists. The diehards claimed that "the drought was a result of the presence of so and so in the government." They deeply realized that "they could not stand" without getting rid of the reformists. Thus, the reformists were struck down one group after another. In less than half a year from the 10th month of the 8th year of Yüan Feng, when Lu Tien and Ts'ai Pien were dismissed from office for no other reason than their being "newly promoted youngsters," to the intercalary 2nd month of the 1st year of Yüan Yu, when Ts'ai Ch'üeh and Chang Tun were removed from office, all reformists were expelled from the government. Those who did not want to be dismissed could remain, but only if they betrayed the new laws and became capitulationists. A typical case in point was Ts'ai Ching. When Ssuma Kuang ordered the abolition of the

labor exemption law and reinstatement of the conscript labor law within five days, everybody said that was impossible. Ts'ai Ching was the only man who accomplished the change within the specified time. Overjoyed, Ssuma Kuang said, "If everyone is as competent as you, there will be nothing to stop me from carrying out my line." In this way Ts'ai Ching, an opportunist who infiltrated the camp of the reformists, became the favorite of Ssuma Kuang, head of the diehards.

At the Back of "Appointing the Virtuous and the Talented"

In the course of hitting the reformists, Ssuma Kuang rapidly rose in position and monopolized the major powers of the state. In the intercalary 2nd month of the 1st year of Yüan Yu, he became full premier. He realized that without a number of accomplices he would not be able to "set Heaven and earth to rights" by his own efforts alone. Hence he did not for a single moment slacken his effort to expand the camp of diehards. He kept a thick, carefully bound volume of names, on the cover of which were written three large, attention-attracting characters: "Recommendation of the Virtuous and the Talented." The volume was a name-list of his confederates, trusted friends, disciples, and others who were dissatisfied with the reforms. They were all candidates for government positions whom Ssuma Kuang was prepared to appoint so they might "together help" overthrow the new laws.

"In the reign of Yüan Yu a standard is set for the empire. This is attributable to the employment of well-experienced and mature persons." Ssuma Kuang helped a large number of obdurate diehards to office and put them in control of all important departments. For example, old diehard Wen Yen-po was made "Counselor of Important Military and State Matters" and Lü Kung-chu was praised as "an experienced and mature person who can be relied on and trusted." When later Lü Kung-chu was asked by Ssuma Kuang to take over his position and duties, Lü continued to implement the line of restoration of the old order and regression, becoming another stalwart of the diehards. Others like Fan Ch'un-jen, Fan Tsu-yü and Su Ch'e also played an important role in the reactionary cause of overthrowing the new laws and total restoration.

Moralist Ch'eng I was another type of "virtue and talent" recommended for appointment by Ssuma Kuang. He had close political and ideological ties with Ssuma Kuang and was a kind of strategist in the camp of diehards. Ssuma Kuang praised Ch'eng I, saying he "studies hard and loves the ancient, is content with poverty, maintains his integrity, always keeps his words and behaves according to the rules of propriety." He recommended Ch'eng for appointment as "one who has been forgotten in a sagely age." This "retired scholar" who was none of the things said of him was made "Professor of National Learning" and promoted three times within a few months. Shedding tears of thankfulness, Ch'eng I blew the trumpet and carried the sedan for Ssuma Kuang, and manufactured public opinion against the new laws and in favor of restoration and regression, becoming a theoretician of Ssuma Kuang's

reactionary political line. In the capacity of a responsible official of the education department, Ch'eng I also rewrote the "Regulations of the Imperial Academy," carrying out counter-attack and counter-reckoning against Wang An-shih's reforms in the educational domain.

Of the "virtuous and talented persons" recommended by Ssuma Kuang for official appointment in the early days of his assumption of office, a large number were so-called "advisers" or officials who commented on affairs of state, such as Liu Chih, Wang Yen-sou, Chu Kuang-t'ing and others. Their duty was writing memoranda to the throne, making speeches, studying important political problems, publishing comments and making suggestions. In effect they were Ssuma Kuang's brain trust and the mouthpiece of the diehards. They engaged exclusively in attacking the new laws and the reformists, and vigorously made public opinion for the "recovery of order of YUan Yu."

For the sake of gathering followers, Ssuma Kuang adopted a series of ignoble and shameless means. These consisted mainly of three: First, by reversing the verdict on the diehards hit by Wang An-shih's reforms. A few days after Ssuma Kuang assumed office, he "exculpated" diehard Cheng Hsia, who was put under surveillance because he had malignantly attacked the reforms, and reinstated him in his old office. One month later, Ssuma Kuang specially set up a so-called "Office of Appeals," encouraging "those who were incriminated (in the course of the reforms) to speak out" and air their grievances. All of a sudden there was pandemonium. A large number of diehards who lost their positions through their opposition to the new laws were active again. Second, by discriminating against newborn forces. Ssuma Kuang proposed that in the appointment of officials, "credit must be given to their qualifications." All those who were "advanced in years and highly experienced," though they might be known for their bad records of the past, could be given important posts so long as they opposed the reforms. Those who were young and promising, but who opposed restoration of the old system, were "rash" and "newly promoted youngsters," had no claim to promotion and should be asked to leave. Third,by inducement with gain and position. All sorts of feudal privileges were used as counters in recruiting faithful followers. Whenever Ssuma Kuang saw a so-called "scholar-official," he always asked him with close concern: Do you have enough to spend? People were surprised at this solicitude. He, however, said with impassiveness: "If one has not enough to wear and to eat, how can one be prevented from deserting the court?" The truth was that Ssuma Kuang tried to buy support with material inducement, so his followers might risk their lives with dedication for the cause of the diehards.

In this way Ssuma Kuang gathered together a group of diehards, a home-going contingent of big landlords. There existed a serious dog-eat-dog struggle within the group. They were all extremely conservative politically and revered Confucius to a high degree ideologically, but they were dissatisfied with Wang An-shih's reforms and resentful of them, and wanted to reckon accounts with them. So they were temporarily united under Ssuma Kuang's reactionary line of total restoration.

"Ssuma Niu!"

It was thanks to this home-going contingent that Ssuma Kuang was able to change the new laws on an extensive scale. By the 1st month of the 1st year of Yüan Yu, all Wang An-shih's reform measures were basically overthrown with the exception of the labor exemption law, the green seedling law and the law governing high ranking military officers. Not satisfied with this, Ssuma Kuang vowed grimly "not to close his eyes even in death" until all the new laws were abolished. Not long afterward, these few remaining reform measures were indeed scrapped. In this way the fruit of Wang An-shih's reforms were "completely uprooted" in only a few months under the counter-attack in revenge of Ssuma Kuang's gang.

In the course of the change, Ssuma Kuang's extremely reactionary and obdurate character was brought to light. Regarding Wang An-shih's line of reform as the bitterest enemy, he said fiercely, "If we do not fight for power now, it will fall into the hands of the reformists." He fought for every inch of territory and unrelentingly against the new laws and the reformists. He would do away thoroughly with anything that had the least bit to do with the new laws, whereas all "laws of the ancestors," even if they had proved impracticable long ago, would be completely restored. Take for example the labor exemption law. It was historically a progressive act. Ssuma Kuang's reinstitution of the conscript labor law was obviously a backward step. It created great confusion and soon could not be implemented at all. However, like a stupid pig Ssuma Kuang would not turn his steps though he had bashed his head against a wall. Instead, he cried desperately: "Reinstitution of the system of conscript labor will necessarily give rise to some trouble. But this must be carried through to the end with an iron will. The system cannot be touched even if it causes some harm." How reactionary and arrogant this diehard was!

To implement his reactionary political line to the end, Ssuma Kuang acted without any reason. He was feared by many people, and not even his faithful adherents could bear him. When the conscript labor law was reinstituted, Fan Ch'un-jen, one of his trusted men who feared that the act might be overdone and thus lose the people's support, suggested cautious, slower action. Ssuma Kuang would have nothing of that. He railed at Fan Ch'un-jen violently. Fan could only sigh, and henceforth dared not speak about the matter any more. Su Shih, who did not think that the conscript labor law was in any way superior to the labor exemption law, also greatly angered Ssuma Kuang. Su Shih, indignant at this reaction, asked: "Is this not forbidding me to have my say?" Even when he was back home, Su Shih still cried repeatedly, "Ssuma Niu /ox/! Ssuma Niu!" Diehard Ssuma Kuang, self-conceited and regarding himself highly, would not listen to anything that differed from his own views. He was really like a stepping stone in a public latrine--hard, foul-smelling--and like an ox tried hard to pull the wheels of history backward.

Culprit of History

While Ssuma Kuang was browbeating other people, Wang An-shih, lying in a sick bed at home, "did not take it too seriously," though clearly indicating his objection. But when he learned of Ssuma Kuang's abolition of the labor exemption law and reinstitution of the conscript labor law, he said in astonishment, "What! Even that is abolished?" In a letter to his family Wang An-shih wrote with deep anxiety that "what worries me with regard to the country is that all the new laws have been changed" and that he hoped one day "someone would surely restore them." But the reformists were then at a disadvantage and Wang An-shih's hopes were not realized. For the time being the diehards had succeeded in their scheme.

In this way Ssuma Kuang did two things on behalf of the big landlords and the diehards. One was his "change of the system of the previous court"--total overthrow of the new laws and restoration of the "old system" that prevailed before the reform. The other was "liquidation of An-shih's party"--repression of the reformists so the diehards might come back in power. The so-called "recovery of order of Yüan Yu" was in effect an incident of restoration and regression. Because of this Shao Po-wen praised Ssuma Kuang, saying, "Your courage and fervor far exceeds that of Mencius!" Indeed, the leader of the diehards was fiercely malignant when he carried out his program of restoration and regression.

It was under the banner of "setting to rights" the affairs of government that Ssuma Kuang assumed office, but his regressive measures pushed the Northern Sung Dynasty into a dark, rotting abyss. It was indeed a historical irony.

"And after restoration the Confucian way is higher than ever." In the wake of the "recovery of order of Yüan Yu" was a furious tide of reverence of Confucianism. "What Mr. Wen emulates is Chou and Confucius." It was with Confucianism, which Ssuma Kuang employed as an ideological weapon, that he "set to rights Heaven and earth." In the ideological domain the "recovery of order of Yüan Yu" was inevitably accompanied by counter-attack and counter-reckoning against Wang An-shih's new school, which was inclined toward the Legalists, and an upsurge, bordering on frenzy, of reverence for Confucius by the big landlords and diehards. An important measure taken by Ssuma Kuang on the ideological front was his ban on learning of the new school and on ideas of reform. He made "The Confucian Analects," "Book of Filial Piety," and other Confucian classics compulsory reading for scholar-officials. In this background rose the extremely reactionary school of neo-Confucianism. This was a further development of Confucianism and played an extremely harmful role in maintaining the reactionary rule of the final stage of feudal society. Even today all restorationists who try to reverse the verdict still use the way of Confucius and Mencius as an important ideological weapon.

"Heaven and earth have fallen into the hands of stilted pedants, whose empty words are equated with the work of sweating horses." With the assumption of power of Ssuma Kuang and diehards like him, the way of Confucius and Mencius was revered and held high, which meant regression and disaster. They were culprits in history, but also the best teachers by negative example.

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On the Struggle Between Honoring and Opposing Confucius Within the Ranks of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo

by

Shih Ching (石镜)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

In the early summer of 1843, in a private village school in Hua-hsien county, Kwangtung Province, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, a teacher then 30 years old, smashed in front of his students a memorial tablet reading "Confucius, the Supreme Sage and Teacher of Great Achievements and King of Literature and Enlightenment," which should be worshipped with burning joss sticks from morning to night.

Like a bolt from the blue, this caused consternation to the entire old world. The unusual act expressed the long-standing wrath of the peasantry and the revolutionary peasants' strong protest against the reactionary doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The seething class hatred of the broad masses of revolutionary peasants burst like molten lava spurting up from the earth's crust.

Soon after Hung smashed the first memorial tablet, many people followed suit, smashing another, and another.... After their uprising at Chint'ien in 1851, the T'ai-p'ing revolutionary fighters smashed memorial tablets, destroyed idols and burned temples honoring Confucius everywhere. They used the study halls of Confucian temples as stables or abattoirs. They "burned all books preaching the heretical teachings of Confucius, Mencius and other schools."* They ruled that "anybody reciting, teaching and learning the heretical books will be beheaded."** This whipped up an extensive and intensive mass anti-Confucian movement.

A great peasant revolutionary and the first advanced Chinese to seek from the West the true way to national salvation, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan personally lit the strong fire of the anti-Confucian struggle. Both when the T'ai-p'ing revolution was fermenting and thrusting forward, he took in rich nutrition from the revolutionary practice of the millions and millions of peasants and closely combined the ideological struggle to oppose Confucius and criticize the Confucian doctrines with the political struggle to overthrow the feudal rule of the Ch'ing Dynasty. "Running a government does not need Confucius and Mencius, ghosts and gods, or

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* Huang Tsai-hsing, "Issuance of Imperial Edicts."

** Chang Te-chien, Collected Information on Bandits' Activities, Vol. VIII.

the Taoists."* This then was the biggest characteristic of the T'ai-p'ing anti-Confucian struggle and also an important reason why this struggle was carried out in unprecedented breadth and depth.

The revolutionary peasants fiercely rebuked the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius which defended the feudal sovereign authority, and denounced the sacred and inviolable feudal emperor as "Hades." To topple "Hades," they fought bravely in 18 provinces, where they crushed the landlords' political power at all levels with the force of a hurricane and established peasants revolutionary regimes.

The revolutionary peasants incisively criticized the Confucian fallacies defending the landlords' ownership of land and feudal system of gradation. They warmly propagated the idea of equality, the idea to be free from feudal trammels. They drew up a spectacular blueprint of "a new world for men" where "people farm the land and eat together, share the clothing and money; equality is practiced everywhere and nobody lacks food and clothing." "Once the defense of a fallacy is refuted in the Kingdom of Heaven, its existence in the man's world will be in a sorry plight." (Marx, "Introduction to 'Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right'") Many poor peasants refused to pay grain taxes, and struggled vehemently against landlords who used to ride roughshod over them in the past.

The tempest of the T'ai-p'ing anti-Confucian struggle aroused deepseated hatred from the feudal landlord class. They attacked this great revolution for "sweeping away overnight China's propriety, morality, ethical principles and books of poetry and classical documents of the past thousand years," so "the scholars could no longer read Confucius' classics" and Confucius and Mencius would "cry bitterly in the underworld." They called it not only "a change during the great Ch'ing" but also "a strange change since the establishment of the Confucian tradition." Besides concentrating counter-revolutionary armed forces to wage military "encirclement and suppression," they also launched a frenzied counter-attack on the revolutionary peasants by intensifying the propaganda of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in the ideological and cultural spheres.

The struggle between the two major opposing classes, the landlord class and the revolutionary peasantry, could not but be reflected within the revolutionary ranks. In concert with the attack by class enemy, an adverse current of honoring Confucius took shape gradually within the T'ai-p'ing ranks.

In January 1853, the T'ai-p'ing army captured Wuch'ang, the first provincial capital it had ever taken. Here, an incident occurred.

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* Wang Shih-to, "Wang Hui-weng's Diary."

Eastern Prince Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, Chief of the General Staff who possessed "great military and political power," went on a "pilgrimage" to a Confucian temple. According to records, in Wuch'ang at that time, "all idols in the temple were burned and destroyed, but the memorial tablet honoring Confucius remained intact." Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, "dressed formally, went up to the memorial tablet, kneeled three times and kowtowed nine times."*

In May 1853, not long after T'ai-p'ing established its capital at Nanking, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing suddenly announced that "the Heavenly Father had descended from above and possessed him," saying: "'What Heaven has conferred is called Nature and adherence to one's natural disposition is called the 'Way' and 'Serve your parents with all your strength and serve your ruler loyally' -- these are not heretical words and should not all be written off." This over-ruled the order forbidding the reading of the Four Books and the Five Classics and called for resumption of reading of classics. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan proposed that all Confucian-Mencian classics and annals should first be revised, and "the nonsensical and heretical parts should be removed, only what is true and correct should be retained, and clean copies should be submitted" for his perusal before these books could be re-published and distributed.** Accordingly, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing ordered his faithful follower, the assistant prime minister Tseng Chao-yang, and others to establish a book revision bureau and exercised sole control over it.

In December the same year, again on the pretext that the Heavenly Father had come down to possess him, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing admonished Hung Hsiu-ch'üan to "practice leniency in all matters in governing the country." On the excuse that Hung, having "a hot temper," failed to do this, he threatened to have Hung be punished by 40 strokes of the cane. Moreover, time and again he warned Hung to abide by the criterion that "the ruler must use his subjects with courtesy and the subjects must serve their ruler loyally."***

"What Heaven has conferred is called Nature and adherence to one's natural disposition is called the Way." This is a concentrated expression of the subjective idealist ideological system worked out by Confucius and Mencius. "Serve your parents with all your strength and serve your ruler loyally" and "the ruler must use his subjects with courtesy and the subjects must serve their ruler loyally" were basic tenets that came from Confucian Analects and used by Confucius to maintain the declining slave system. Yang Hsiu-ch'ing relished these things and

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* Wu Chui-tzu of Chianghsia, "Narrative Poems in a City of Hupeh."

** Collected Information on Bandits' Activities, Vols. XII and VII.

*** "Decrees by the Heavenly Father (Part Two)."

wanted to take "practice of leniency in all matters" as the "criterion" for "running a family, governing a country and pacifying the world." This showed that Yang had been poisoned rather deeply by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Time and again he announced in the name of "Heavenly Father": "Confucian and Mencian books need not be banned because they contain a great deal of things that conform to Heavenly principles."* Actually he wanted to legalize the existence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius within the T'ai-p'ing ranks.

The struggle between two ideological lines has always been a reflection of the struggle between two political lines. The rise of the tide of ideas honoring Confucius within the T'ai-p'ing ranks was inseparable from the adverse political current which ran counter to the ideal of the T'ai-p'ing revolution.

To overthrow the feudal system of gradation which lay like a dead weight above them, the revolutionary peasants warmly supported the idea of equality that "all men in the world are brothers; all women in the world are sisters." But after Nanking was taken, this idea was gradually forsaken by some people, and systems of rites were set up in the pattern of the "Rites of Chou." "There should be a difference between the elite and the lowly; a system will tell the noble from the mean." Outmoded dogmas were reinstated in new form. There were strict regulations governing the civil service, etiquette in the palaces, court etiquette, official titles and costumes, ensigns, and carriages and horses. There was a strict distinction between different grades and in no circumstances should such a distinction be ignored. Those who violated these rules would suffer flogging in light cases and capital punishment in serious ones. For instance, "when the Eastern Prince comes out of the palace, officers and men should kneel by the sidewalk if they have no time to take cover, and those who dare to walk in front of him will be beheaded."** This was a striking contrast to the old days when Yang Hsiu-ch'ing and the T'ai-p'ing fighters "were dressed in rags and walked with straw sandals."+ In June 1854, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing pointed out in an edict: "All rites were taught me by the Heavenly Father when He descended from Heaven. His sacred instructions to the people He wants me to transmit."++ It can be seen that these "rites" were drawn up by Yang Hsiu-ch'ing himself. "In the struggle against old autocracy, especially in the struggle against the system of big land ownership by

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* "Imperial Regulations on Official Ranks."

** Tu Wen-lan, "Brief Account of the Suppression of Bandits in Kwangtung," Appendix III.

\+ Collected Information on Bandits' Activities, Vol. I.

++ "31-Point Reply from the Eastern Prince of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo to the Englishman and His 50-Point Reproof, June 1854."

the old serf-owners, the idea of equality is the most revolutionary idea." (Lenin, "The Land Program of the Social-Democratic Party During the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907") Rebuilding a system of strict gradation was absolutely not a question of ritual forms but a betrayal of the revolutionary peasants' idea of equality.

This political counter-current also found prominent expression in the major change in the land policy. This change was initiated by Shih Ta-k'ai, the Wing Prince, in Anch'ing region. On Yang Hsiu-ch'ing's order, Shih Ta-k'ai, who came from a landlord family, went on an inspection tour of Anch'ing, where he ordered the abolition of the system of "state ownership of money and grain" and enforced the system of "rents and taxes" collected on the basis of acres owned. This meant keeping the former relations of land ownership under landlord rule and levying taxes on this basis. At the same time, he extensively recruited landlord elements in Anch'ing and appointed them T'ai-p'ing officials. These regressive measures were not only not opposed by Yang Hsiu-ch'ing but were endorsed by him. Moreover, in association with the Northern Prince Wei Ch'ang-hui and Shih, Yang submitted a memorial to Heaven King /Hung Hsiu-ch'uan/ seeking to reinstate the old system of grain taxes in Anhwei, Kiangsi and other regions on the pretext that "grains be stored everywhere to increase the army's stock and the country's reserve."* This was in effect to extend the policy introduced by Shih in Anch'ing to other areas, a departure from the revolutionary program, embodied in the "Land System of the Heavenly Kingdom," of abolishing landlord ownership of land and feudal exploitation, and reversion to the former relations of production.

It was not accidental that Yang changed from a leader of the T'ai-p'ing revolution to the general representative of those honoring Confucius and practicing regression.

Son of a poor hired hand, Yang was a coal burner. Both during the preparatory period of the revolution and the initial period of the founding of the T'ai-p'ing regime, he made contributions in organizing the masses and directing the war and became a military and political leader in charge of daily affairs. But his ideological consciousness was incompatible with his position. When Feng Yün-shan persuaded him to join the revolution, he said, "What can we coal burners do to accomplish a big mission? We'll thank Heaven if we have enough food to eat and enough clothing to keep warm." To Feng, the big mission meant "finding the basic way out" to "deliver millions and millions of poor people from sufferings."** In other words, the revolutionary idea of the T'ai-p'ing

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* Collected Information on Bandits' Activities, Vol. VII.

** Collected Data of Investigation on the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo Revolution in Kwangsi, p. 60.

had never taken root in his mind. After assuming leadership work, Yang trusted and used people of landlord origin such as Shih Ta-k'ai and Hu I-huang, and gave high positions to a number of intellectuals more deeply influenced by the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Thus he himself came under increasing influence by such doctrines. He believed and practiced subjective idealist philosophy, and described his will as the will of "God," that is, the "Heavenly mandate." After coming to Nanking, he styled himself a hero and became arrogant. He even extolled himself as a savior "bestowed with inborn knowledge and the ability to succeed in action," and "whose meritorious services surpass those of anyone in the past and whose benevolence will be extended to future generations."* Marx and Engels said: "Once this idealist fantasy becomes a practical fantasy, it will instantly show its harmful nature: the desire for power of the clergy, religious fanaticism, the act of a charlatan, the hypocrisy of a theist, and the deceit of a religious faithful." ("German Ideology") As the revolution developed in breadth and depth with each passing day, the evil consequences of Yang's actions also became more and more serious. Idealist fantasy eventually turned into personal ambition of the worst kind, and ideological and political mistakes finally developed into usurpative activities betraying the revolution.

In 1856, the T'ai-p'ing army in a matter of several months defeated the Northern Yangtze and Southern Yangtze armies of the Ch'ing Dynasty which seriously menaced the safety of Nanking and badly trounced the Hunan Army, almost driving Tseng Kuo-fan to madness. Almost the whole of Anhwei Province, seven prefectures, one district and over 50 counties in Kiangsi Province, and large pieces of land in Hupeh Province fell into the hands of the T'ai-p'ing army. This was the T'ai-p'ing heyday in the military sense. At this crucial moment, in mid-August 1856, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, on the pretext of acting on the Heavenly Father's order, called Hung Hsiu-ch'üan to his residence and told him that since he, Yang, had done such great merit, the title of emperor be conferred on him and his descendants.** Subsequently, worried that Hung would not entertain such outrageous demands, he hatched a new plot and was prepared, if necessary, to murder Hung and take his place.

To smash Yang's conspiracy, Hung proposed that the investiture be postponed to September 23, Yang's birthday, so as to gain more than a month's time to make dispositions. At the same time, he dispatched envoys with secret messages ordering Wei Ch'ang-hui, who was then commanding the army in Kiangsi, and the Yen Prince Ch'in Jih-kang, commanding the army at Chint'an and Tanyang, to return to the capital with their armies

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* "Preface to Essence of Military Strategy."

** Chang Ju-nan, "Brief Account of Disasters Seen in Nanking."

immediately. Wei rushed back to the capital with 3,000 men in mid-night on September 1, and met with Ch'in, who had arrived earlier. On Hung's order, they surrounded Yang's house and killed him. The news of Yang's death was greeted with "cheers everywhere."* "The execution of Yang met with general approval."** Facts showed that Yang went against the will of the people when he wanted to honor Confucius and go backward, while Hung's measures won the approbation of the broad revolutionary masses.

Wei Ch'ang-hui, who came back to Nanking with his army, was rather familiar with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and was versed in chicanery. Back in Nanking, he did not carry out Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's order of "pardoning the rest of the gang" with the exception of Yang Hsiu-ch'ing. Instead, he took the opportunity to enlarge the incident and wantonly perpetrated massacre, killing more than 20,000 people, most of whom were backbone elements who followed the revolution since the Chint'ien uprising. He also stepped into Yang Hsiu-ch'ing's shoes and "posed like a dictator."** In early November, he led a handful of sworn followers to encircle and attack the Imperial Palace and launched a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan directed his guards and the women in the palace to resist heroically and quelled the rebellion in just two days with the cooperation of the revolutionary troops outside the palace and on the outskirts of the city.

The capitalist aggressors and the reactionary feudal rulers had long ago pinned their hopes on the differentiation of the revolutionary ranks. In 1854, a US imperialist element commenting on the T'ai-p'ing said: "Judging from the current situation, nothing can stop their victory, except internal strife."*** It is the easiest to capture a citadel from within. Both Yang and Wei did what the reactionaries at home and abroad wanted but could not do. Their perverse acts caused huge losses to the revolution in all fields, political, military, ideological. However, as Chairman Mao said: "Retrogression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere." ("New-Democratic Constitutional Government")

After the death of Yang and Wei, the struggle between the ideas honoring Confucius and opposing him within the T'ai-p'ing

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* Pu-lieh-men-chih (布列门治), Facts of Internal Strife Between Eastern Prince and Northern Prince of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo.

** MacGovern (麦高文), Detailed Account of Internal Strife Between Eastern Prince and Northern Prince of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo.

*** "An Eye-Witness Account in Nanking."

ranks did not come to an end, but went on in close connection with the political struggle between the two lines.

"Influence the people by returning to the ancient practices"* -- this was Shih Ta-k'ai's basic program for regression and splits. Commenting on Shih, Tso Tsung-t'ang, an executioner suppressing the T'ai-p'ing revolution, had this to say: "Judging from his deeds, he is rather anxious in winning the hearts of people and seeking the services of the talented. He does not endorse heretical teachings."** This meant that Shih followed the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and was anxious in winning the hearts of the middle and small landlord classes and seeking the services of landlord class intellectuals. After Wei was put to death, Shih was called back to Nanking to preside over the military and governmental affairs. As he strongly called for using "benevolence and righteousness" to rule "the world,"+ he disagreed with Hung on many issues. Hung educated him and helped him correct his mistake. But still he insisted on going his own way, regarding the orders from Hung with suspicion."++ In June 1857, he left Nanking on his own authority and attempted to set up his own kingdom, using his position in the T'ai-p'ing army to deceive and coerce the close to 200,000 officers and men of the T'ai-p'ing army in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Kiangsi and Hupeh provinces to defect to him. This brought extremely serious consequences to the revolution.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan evinced no fear at all in the face of the surging counter-revolutionary arrogance of the reactionaries at home and abroad. He boldly promoted some young generals such as Ch'en Yü-ch'eng and Yang Fu-ch'ing who had grown up quickly during the revolutionary war. He appointed Hung Jen-kan, who upheld the revolutionary ideals and was full of vigor and vitality, to administer court affairs. After some dogged fighting, they successively defeated the Northern Yangtze and Southern Yangtze armies of the Ch'ing Dynasty that had been rebuilt, and liberated large areas in southern Kiangsu, thereby turning the table around and enabling the revolution to develop afresh. Subsequently, Li Hsiu-ch'eng, the Prince of Loyalty, gradually became the most outstanding representative of Confucius worshippers within the T'ai-p'ing ranks.

Before joining the T'ai-p'ing army, Li studied books by Confucius and Mencius for three years and was deeply influenced by the feudal ideology.

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* Shih Ta-k'an, "Poems Written on the Walls of White Dragon Cave."

** Tso Tsung-t'ang, "Letter to Wang P'o-shan."

\+ Brief Account of the Suppression of Bandits in Kwangtung, Vol. XIV.

++ "Proclamations by Shih Ta-k'ai."

After joining the army, he defied the order forbidding reading of evil books and read them secretly. During the final years of the T'ai-p'ing, he became an important commanding officer of the army. He had many large silk banners hung on the walls of his residence, bearing the words "maxims from Chinese classics."* In areas under his control, he allowed the setting of "questions from the Four Books" in the civil service examination, connived at the reactionary landed gentry in re-building earthen idols of Confucius and installing them in the Confucian temples.

Li practiced a capitulationist policy. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan insisted on "chopping off the evil, keeping the just, and killing the heretics and the guilty."** But Li sang a rival tune and trumpeted "treating the inferior with courtesy," "showing benevolence to people throughout the land in accord with ancient practices" and "showing leniency to all those who are guilty."*** He treated the captured civil and military officials of the Ch'ing Dynasty as if they were guests of honor, appointed landlord elements to hold political power at all levels, protected the interests of the landlords, suppressed the peasants, and openly defended the landlord home-going contingents in launching a vengeful counter-attack!

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan had on several occasions given serious warnings to Li Hsiu-ch'eng. Time and again he reprimanded Li for his degeneration and several times dismissed him from his posts, telling him: "We do not need you to handle court affairs." But Li was unredeemable and finally, like Shih Ta-k'ai, he defected to the enemy and shamelessly advised the counter-revolutionary chieftains to "conquer the world with benevolence and love"*** with the help of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

The history of struggle between honoring and opposing Confucius within the T'ai-p'ing ranks fully shows the reactionary effect and danger of having the ideas of honoring Confucius within the revolutionary ranks. These ideas stand for regression, splits, capitulation and betrayal. They are a political and ideological detachment of the class enemy within the revolutionary ranks. Yang Hsiu-ch'ing won merit in the early days, but he betrayed his revolutionary history when he began to honor Confucius and practice regression. This regressive path was also followed by Shih Ta-k'ai and Li Hsiu-ch'eng. The farther they travelled on this path, the more thoroughly they betrayed the revolutionary cause. Capitulating to the feudal landlord class, they became despicable renegades. As to Wei Ch'ang-hui, he was originally a careerist who sneaked into the revolutionary ranks. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius

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* Linley (呤唎), "An Account of Personal Experience in T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo Revolution."

** New Handbook on Government Administration.

*** "Li Hsiu-ch'eng's Confession."

stand for the reactionary world outlook of all declining classes. Those who cannot break thoroughly with this reactionary world outlook will sooner or later be captured by the reactionary ideology until they depart from the revolutionary camp and destroy their own revolutionary history. The history of the T'ai-p'ing revolution tells us, with lessons written in blood, that whether to persevere in the anti-Confucian struggle or honor Confucius and go backward is a touchstone distinguishing revolution and counter-revolution. This is true for the struggle between two major classes as well as for the struggle between the two lines within revolutionary ranks.

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